



NEWSLETTER OF THE LONDON CHAPTER,
ONTARIO ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
P.O. Box 2574, Station B, London, ON. N6A 4G9



November, 1991

91-7

Excavations at the Culloden Acres and Bolton Paleo-Indian Sites Christopher Ellis

This month we feature a presentation by Prehistory volume fame Chris Ellis, from the anthropology department of the University of Western Ontario. Chris will review the results of his investigations on these two sites, located near Komoka, and excavated in 1990 (ps. look for Chris's article on some non Paleo-Indian material from Culloden Acres in an upcoming issue of **KEWA**). Meeting time is 8 PM on Thursday, November 14th at the Museum of Indian Archaeology. See you there.

Next Month (December 7th): Annual Chapter Christmas Party and Business Meeting at 451 Tecumseh St. E., in London.

ANNUAL RATES

Individual	\$15.00
Family	\$18.00
Institutional	\$21.00
Subscriber	\$15.00

Chapter Executive

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EXECUTIVE REPORT

At the OAS annual meetings, held in Ottawa on the weekend of October 26th, the OAS Executive announced that there is going to be an increase in membership fees for the provincial dues. Fortunately, Chapter membership fees will remain the same for 1992, although subscription rates (for non-members) will rise \$2.00 to \$17.00 in the new year.

The Prehistory volume continues to do well, with over 600 copies of our near-1000 run gone. The book is currently being used for 3 university courses, and rumours persist that as many as two more course sales may happen in the next while. At the OAS conference, Pat Weatherhead and daughter Jenny sold 10 copies, as well as 4 copies of the Boreal Forest volume. Speaking of which, our stock of Boreal Forest text is almost depleted, so act fast if you want one before its gone. Depending on demand, the Executive will have to consider whether or not to make a second printing of that volume. And if that wasn't enough to pat ourselves on the backs with, we recently received a letter from Jason Craghill, who purchased a copy of the Prehistory volume and took it with him on a trip to China. He reports that he made a gift of the book to Dr. Yang Xing Long, of the Chongqing Natural History Museum of Sichuan. Our Prehistory volume is now known around the world! Gosh, success is fun!

On other fronts, the Executive is pleased to announce that Peter Timmins will be replacing Bob Mayer as the Chapter representative on the London LACAC when Bob steps down at the end of the year. Our thanks to Bob, for all the work he did on LACAC over the last 3 years. We should also mention that its time once again to solicit nominations for the Chapter Executive for the 1992 term. Several current Executive members are stepping down, so we will need new volunteers. If you think you'd like to contribute to the running of the London Chapter (don't forget, we've got all that money from the Prehistory volume sales which needs to be spent!), then please contact Neal Ferris, nominating committee chair (433-8401 days; or 432-2165 evenings) before the close of nominations, at the Chapter Annual Business meeting to be held during our Christmas party on December 7th.

Readers will find in the back of this issue our 1992 mailing list - please contact the Executive if you see an error in your listing. The total number of members, subscribers and institutional mailings is 128 for this year, a decline of 4 from 1991. The London Chapter is still able to pick up new members, unfortunately we have also seen some long time members dropped from our list for this year. Our membership still remains wide-reaching in scope, with only 42% of our mailings going to people living within a 1 hour commuting distance of London. Obviously our newsletter remains the main attraction for membership, although increased participation of the London Chapter in the local heritage scene should help to raise local membership over the next few years.

Finally, as you undoubtedly know, heritage has taken quite a beating on a number of fronts in London over the last few months. With local elections coming up this is your chance to make heritage an issue with local candidates. We encourage members to go out and vote for candidates who you think will best support heritage issues. Also, don't forget to keep track of how elected officials vote on heritage issues over the coming term.

SOCIAL REPORT

At the OAS annual meeting in Ottawa, Chapter member Stan Wortner was awarded a 25 year membership pin from the OAS main body. Congratulations Stan, and keep up the good work!

As was pointed out by several observant readers of last month's issue of **KEWA**, we forgot to mention the date of the Chapter Christmas party. Oooops! It will be held on Saturday, December 7th (sorry Dana), at the home of Neal Ferris and Manina Jones. Start time is anywhere after 6 PM. Members are asked to bring their own refreshments and an offering to go with the Turkey. To coordinate what to bring, please call Neal or Nina at 432-2165, or Pat Weatherhead. Party favours, games, mistletoe, and, of course, gifts for Rudie and Frankie are welcome!

As far as our line up of speakers for the next few months is concerned, the following is what we've go planned:

January 9th -	Grace Rajnovich
February 13th -	Member's Night
March 14th -	Linda Gibbs

We're still looking for a speaker in April, and any suggestions are always welcome. As far as our May speaker night goes, it will follow immediately on the heels of the Canadian Archaeological Association Conference here in London. Perhaps everyone will be "talked-out", so the Executive may decide to cancel May's speaker night for this year....which leads to the following:

CALL FOR PAPERS AND SESSIONS

1992 CANADIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION 25TH ANNUAL MEETING

May 6th - 10th, 1992, Radisson Hotel, London

Individuals wishing to present papers or organize sessions for the 1992 CAA's, or individuals wishing further information, are asked to contact the CAA organizing committee, c/o 55 Centre Street, London, Ontario, N6J 1T4, (519) 433-8401; Fax: (519) 439-1696. Volunteers to help organize and run the conference are also welcome (free registration for all volunteers).

EDITOR'S NOTE

This month's article by Christian Frederick Denke is brought to us by way of Irmgard Jamnik and Neal Ferris, and is a continuation of this Moravian Missionary's account of his stay among the Ojibwa of the Sydenham River during the early 19th century. It certainly gives one pause to consider the extent of change which has taken place on southern Ontario in just 200 short years!

Translated in 1989 from the Old Script German by Dr. Irmgard Jamnik; Edited by Neal Ferris

Editor's Preface

Regular **KEWA** readers will recall that in the 90-5 issue, we published part of the diary of a Moravian missionary, Christian Frederick Denke, who established a mission site on the Sydenham River in 1804 among the Ojibwa of that drainage. Denke's diary represents the earliest recorded account of these people, and, along with the Moravian diaries from Fairfield on the Thames River, represents the only substantive body of ethnohistoric information for the late 18th early 19th century Ojibwa of southwestern Ontario. In this issue of **KEWA**, we continue on from where we left off last time: in the mid-summer of 1805. In this next instalment, we again see many references to Ojibwa settlement-subsistence patterns. We are also introduced to some of the important political leaders in this community, and gain some insights into local family and social relations. Furthermore, we begin to see the deterioration of relationships between the Denkes and their neighbours (by the end of 1806 the Denke's had abandoned their mission site due to increased bad feelings towards Denke on the part of the local Ojibwa). Finally, the entire diary allows the reader to get a true feeling of what life was like along the middle reaches of the Sydenham River at a time immediately before the onslaught of European settlement. The value of the information within this diary, not only for understanding early European-Native relationships in this part of the world, but also for understanding how the local Native community utilized the immediate environment, can help both historic and prehistoric Native studies in southwestern Ontario.

Further instalments of the Denke diaries, both chronicling the end of the mission on the Sydenham, and documenting Denke's earlier mission site on Harsen's Island in the St. Clair River, will appear in future issues of **KEWA**, as they get translated. For further background information on Denke, the southwestern Ontario Ojibwa, and this period of history, readers are referred to the introduction which appeared in the 90-5 issue of **KEWA** (as well as Figure 1 in that article), and the Ferris et al article on a historic Ojibwa site on the Sydenham River which appeared in **Ontario Archaeology**, Number 44.

Report from the Jonquakamik from the 2nd of July 1805 to the 28th of May 1806

July

2nd - Sr.¹ Denke and Martha set out to go to Fairfield but met Br. Denke about two miles from our house with whom they returned. Rumours had been brought by Indians to Fairfield about a council or meeting, to be held up the Jonquakamik² in order to drive us away from here. A letter from Captain McKee³ to the Jonquakamik Chippewas should have been the source of this rumour. Fortunately, Sr. Denke had not yet heard anything about this. As Br. Schnall and Denke had just been with Captain McKee, they could prove the rumour unfounded. Actually, it was

noted that, as soon as the brethren go away from the house, one can expect something unpleasant to happen. Meanwhile, the dear Saviour has mercifully protected Sr. Denke from every harm in her loneliness. All of the Indian brethren and sisters went back to Fairfield now. After a rain, we could finally hill up our potatoes. On the

5th, the Passion liturgy was held in the evening and on the

7th, in the forenoon a talk and in the evening, singing.

8th or 9th - Zachaeus visited us; in the evening we contemplated today's text.

10th - The Indians went to Kitegan⁴ to help those who are living there to hill up the maize and came back on the next day with several Chippewas who camped below us. In the evening there was a liturgy. On the

13th, we enjoyed the body and blood of Jesus in Holy Communion whereat we felt happy. Today Phillipina went to Fairfield and from there to Pettquotting⁵. On the

14th, a few Chippewas again attended the sermon. During these days, several deer and a bear were hunted down here. On the

15th, Br. Schnall visited us on horseback with a companion. In the evening there was a talk. The day after, he went back. His horse had run away during the night so he had to make his way on foot.

18th - Still more Indians from Kitegan encamped below us. We had heavy and longed for downpours.

21st - Nobody came to the meeting, but we had a talk with (undecipherable).

24th - Kajaki came home from a great council meeting at the Miami⁶. His family was already here. He told us the most remarkable content of the council. Among other things, that several nations will make war with the States but that the Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawatomis would only watch calmly. In the evening there was a meeting.

26th - Sr. Denke, who for a few days has had a lame leg as well as arm, suddenly became bed-ridden ill and the illness got worse during the following days.

30th - Today, Mtschiki and Beata with their family, as well as the Chippewas, went down river.

31st - In the afternoon Sr. Denke became very ill.

August

1st - Quite unexpectedly, Jacob, the assistant brother, arrived from Fairfield. He was quite surprised to find us in such circumstances and immediately said that he will stay with us until

Sr. Denke feels better. Chippewas came up from down river and went to their fields. Finally, today in the afternoon we could find a Chippewa whom we sent to Fairfield to our sisters and brethren there to let them know of our situation and on the

2nd, we had the joy of having Sr. Schnall with us to nurse the patient. On the

4th, she went back but returned again after having walked only a few miles because she had left us both in the evening and on the

5th she was picked up on horseback. Jacob also went home yesterday.

6th - Quite unexpectedly, Sr. Schnall arrived here again. She stayed with us until the

8th. Martha and Christiane came here. The former accompanied Sr. Schnall home and the latter stayed for a few days to help us. Meanwhile, the patient had recovered so quickly that she could be up again and walk around a little. Her disease was a high bilious fever which soon broke through the help of God, although she became very sick and weak again.

10th - Christiane went home.

11th - Now a meeting could be held again in our house and since Beata returned, we held a meeting.

13th - We thought of today's commemoration day of the Brethren Unity and joined the commune in spirit.

14th - During these days, we had such heavy downpours that the so low river rose so high that it almost flooded the plantation on the other side. On the

18th the blessedness of being able to rely simply and solely on the saviour in all circumstances with a confident heart was talked about in the meeting. During the week, we worked hard on enlarging the shed and hayloft. We also had short visits from Indians passing by and hunting during the night on the river. Old Kajaki came down from his hunt where he had gone a short time ago. He was very ill and lay in his canoe where he was visited. Also several Chippewas came here who dispersed again in a few days.

21st - (Indecipherable) became very sick. We had the pain of seeing him have a spell cast on himself on the heathen way here. But this was no help to his recovery so on the

22nd, in the evening, he summoned Br. Denke and asked him to take care of him, and promised to stay away from witchcraft from now on because he realized that it did not help him. He promised also to change his life. The remedies given to him did him good but with his recovery, he forgot his promises again and he seemed even more hardened subsequently. After all, it seems as though his friends very much stand in his way until now and he is afraid of being despised by them as soon as he whole heartedly would be converted.

23rd - Br. Schnall visited us. This time he came alone on horseback but found out that his horse was ill and had to go the greatest part of the way on foot. Because of hindrances and disturbances, we could not hold Holy Communion which fell upon the 13th. As we have resumed our routine again, Br. Schnall administered it today in the evening after the Passion liturgy with a blessed feeling of the peace of God. The day after Br. Schnall returned.

24th - There was no meeting because our people left for Fairfield.

25th - Martha came with a little girl from Fairfield. Br. Denke wanted to leave immediately after her arrival for Fairfield to the conference and on business, but could only go on the 29th because of the rainy weather and an indisposition. On the

30th & 31st, Chippewas from upstream passed by on their way to Malden⁷.

September

1st - In the evening, the brothers Stephan, Adam and Israel came from Fairfield. They brought along our cattle which had gone there yesterday. During the following days, the brethren built us a small house to store our necessities. In the evening we held a meeting as usual.

6th - the brethren returned. On the

7th, on the Marriage Choir feast, we implored a blessing for us in our lonely location also.

9th - To our delight, we received letters from Betty and Magi through the Delaware sisters. In the evening, two sons of the old Mrs. Harsen⁸ visited us, who returned on the 11th. They told us, among other things, that the great Chippewa chief Nangi⁹, who died last year, who at first lay ill by them, had often wished, very ardently and with tears, to see Br. Denke once more. But his friends did not grant him this request and dragged him to Malden where he also died.

15th - All the men from Kitegan came here to hear the speech of Captain McKee.

20th - We began to harvest our maize now. The weather was very warm. A few times the thermometer showed 90 degrees Fahrenheit. Beata came from Fairfield to harvest her maize.

23rd - Br. Schnall visited us and returned on the 25th. On the

27th, several Chippewas arrived here from the hunt. During the previous night, we had hoar frost for the first time this autumn. On the

29th, the feast of the Angels, we could at last hold a meeting again. Until then we were lacking people. Most of the month we spent by ourselves.

October

During this month, we and the Indians camping on the fields above and below us, were

working hard at harvesting for which the weather was not favourable at the beginning of the month because of a great deal of rain. Now and then we had short visits from Chippewas going up and down. On the

8th we received an English as well as on the 21st finally a German Watch-word book for this year. On the

20th we quietly celebrated Sr. Denke's birthday.

24th - Beata, having completed her harvest, went with her entire family to Fairfield.

26th - We had the first snow. Already on the previous days it was cold and on the

27th in the morning the thermometer showed 25 degrees. Almost all of the Chippewas, camping near us, went away to Malden to receive their gifts¹⁰. A few days before they left, something unpleasant happened. A young Indian who visits us frequently and who enjoys school instructions, came late in the evening and after he talked about this and that and also asked for a verse copied in Chippewa to learn, he said that the reason he came so late was to tell us something undisturbed which he had heard repeatedly to the point of boredom. That is, two Indians, who are close by, boasted that we would leave soon and one even said he would be willing to murder Br. Denke at any time as soon as he would meet him outside his house. The next morning, Br. Denke immediately sent for these two Indians to take them to task. After he had told them again, briefly but sincerely, the reason for our presence and drew to their attention that they too had quite often heard the Word of Life for their own salvation, they also had attended the meetings and that it was hurting us to hear something like this as they themselves still had the biggest benefit of our presence, so they assured us that this must be lies and gave Br. Denke the hand of friendship once more. (NB: But subsequently, as can be seen from the diary, it became known that the above mentioned threats were only too well founded and reached further than was presumed at that time and our Indians participated in them. The renewed friendship was only pro forma.) Our harvest in every way yielded beyond all our expectations, fruits of the garden as well as of the fields, and by far more than one would expect by the dry pre-summer. All the more reason we found to babble a very childlike, humble and joyful thank to the giver of all gifts. We especially had many watermelons with which we also helped our neighbours because we could by no means eat them all. They are growing excellently here on the upland,. Most of them weighed 20 and some 25 pounds, which we ate in the company of some Indian sisters and brethren from Fairfield.

30th - Petrus came from Fairfield to talk privately with Br. Denke about the state of his heart. Kajaki also came here to be bled on both arms.

November

We could only hold Holy Communion on the 4th because Sr. Denke was ill in bed and we waited first for her recovery. Now we again have pleasant, warm autumn weather which we used to make preparations for the winter. Since the beginning of the month, we were all by ourselves again until on the

12th, Br. Schnall visited us and returned on the 13th. Today's Eldest feast was blessed in tranquillity. To our great joy, after a long, long wait, we received a letter from Br. V. Vleck from the beginning of September.

17th - Br. Denke went to Fairfield and on the next day accompanied Br. Schnall on business to Mr. Dolson¹¹. They also visited several friends on the Thames. On the

20th he came back. In the meantime, the big girl Maria Barbara stayed with Sr. Denke. During these days the latter had frequent visits from Chippewas passing by.

21st - Today we had the joy of seeing the old Tawa chief Onagan (the bowl) by us quite unexpectedly. He was happy as a child to see Br. Denke again after three years¹². Onagan is the only survivor of the three great chiefs of the Chippewas and Tawas or Ottawas, who received Br. Denke in such a friendly manner. He also remembered this and the great words which he had heard. A few times, namely, the mercy of God in Christ Jesus was praised to him and his people in his house and town on the St. Clair. But now he lives again at the Chenail Ecarte in Wabisfitschangispigabawit, on the island which has been granted to him by the English government and for this reason had been bought from the Chippewas¹³. Since all his people went to the Miami for the winter hunt, he is all by himself and will pass the winter here on the river. On the

23rd, he came here by canoe and the next day went with his wife further upstream where his two daughters are living. Zachaeus had brought us a barrel cask on his back from Fairfield and went home today.

30th - During this week, a few sisters from Fairfield brought us flour for our winter bread. The weather was favourable and mild.

December

1st - Today, the first Sunday of Advent, we quietly contemplated the subject of the salvation bringing future of the Saviour in flesh.

2nd - Chippewas went up the river to their winter places. Their stay here was very short. There was also a thunderstorm today. In the evening Zachaeus and M. Barbara came from Fairfield. With the former Br. Denke left for there on the 3rd to visit the ill Br. M. Jung at his request. Because the leaves had fallen off the trees, the trail is often unrecognizable until it is better trodden. On the

4th, he came home again. On the

9th, the assistant brother Jacob came from Fairfield to help us with the slaughter. The weather was very desirable and warm.

12th - Today an unpleasant scene occurred with the Chippewa who is living above us, who visits us often, has received many goods from us already, and who was quite friendly towards us until

now. He had already been asked quite urgently to consider the salvation of his soul, therefore the Word of God was reached to him. There was once a glimmer of hope and one could conclude from his remarks that he would become a convert. But today we had to see that he is hostile towards us and he left us in fierce anger and could not be calmed down. From his talk, one could clearly deduce that some white people on the St. Clair, from where he had recently come, were ill disposed towards us and had set him against us. The words of today's watch-word: He is a shield to all who trust in Him, was therefore especially consoling to us and we implored the Saviour that he in his omnipotence would let this situation turn to advantage of His plan here. The Indian went downstream. On the

14th we approached the table of the Lord. Br. Jacob was our companion. We had a very blessed, body and soul strengthening partaking. The thermometer still showed 60 degrees today, but it snowed on the night of the 15th. On the

16th, Br. Jacob went home.

21st - In the evening, Michael brought us a letter from Br. Schnall in which he informed us of our awkward position and dangerous situation concerning the Chippewas, as much as he was able to learn from the assistant brethren at Fairfield, who had heard remarks from the Chippewas camping at Fairfield. (These are the same as those already mentioned on the 25th of October.) They have indeed uttered bad remarks and many accusations against us which are really all lies. To our regret, we had to hear this here from the Indians themselves too and now got the clue that this was already schemed long ago and is aimed at our expulsion. It is unfortunate that after the death of both chiefs, Nangi and Witznema during the previous winter, no other chief has been appointed who would keep these loose people in check. They are using the opportunity too. Br. Schnall also made suggestions for our security. Meanwhile, there is now nothing to fear at present and all these are only threats for the time being. As soon as the river is frozen, a Frenchman from St. Clair, who has greatly influence with the Chippewas, is expected at Wentschipaqua where the calm water ends below us, and a big council meeting of all the Indians living here on the river should be held in his presence in which will be deliberated whether they should drive us away or not. Some Chippewa families already went there among those where the one mentioned on the 12th also is. At that time already he had given us notice of this and had added very sarcastically: Know this - this Frenchman hates you and your presence here. May God, the Almighty, destroy the council of the heathen. He will know how to carry out His plan and we will quietly watch Him direct and guide everything. On the

22nd, Michael went back. It was raining, but it cleared during the night. On the

23rd we had the joy of seeing, to our comfort, Br. Schnall arrive on foot and alone. We discussed conference-like our situation with him. On the

24th in the morning he returned. The Christmas holiday was spent quite quietly. On the

26th Jonathan visited us from Fairfield. We heard from him that we are to expect two sisters from Fairfield on the 29th, who indeed arrived in the evening. We were already ready and left alone for Fairfield on the 30th. During the previous days it was raining a great deal and during

the night of the 30th it was snowing. We also found it wet and everything full of water which, because we were avoiding the water as much as possible, delayed us very much. About halfway, the lad Abraham from Fairfield met us, for which we were very thankful. The sisters and brethren had sent him to meet us. The snow towards Fairfield was not only deeper, but it was also snowing so heavily that we would have lost the trail without a guide. So at midday we arrived completely exhausted and soaked at Fairfield, where we celebrated New Year and Epiphany. Altogether our visit was very pleasant and strengthening and meant much to our poor hearts. It was especially reviving for Sr. Denke to be once more in the commune after eight lonely months.

JANUARY 1806

On the 8th we returned. It had already frozen by now, but the ice was not holding up yet. The assistant brother Adam went ahead and cracked the ice so that Sr. Denke could ride through. Hannah carried little Carolina Schnall on her back who wanted to come with us. Sr. Martha and the big girl, M. Barbara, went home again. We were very thankful to them for keeping house in our absence and everything in good condition.

14th - Today we once again saw Chippewas, Kajaki, his son, and Jawinit (the latter had been thought of on the 12th of December). They passed by here on their way home from a great dance feast above Fairfield where they made an offering to their Manito. Kajaki smilingly gave his hand at his coming and going and was very friendly. Jawinit followed his example but was very shy. He may be sorry for his former behaviour. They, however, were treated with love and left happily. We were glad to see them so friendly to us and it did not at all seem as if they had something against us in mind. In the evening Atschiwa came dragging a young deer over the snow which he had just shot. He laid the deer before our door and asked us to take it as a present. When we accepted, he was full of joy and after he had refreshed himself, he happily went home. Something like that had not happened since we have been here and just now at a time when the news and rumours are not the most pleasing ones.

At the end of our present diary we can do nothing better than to commend ourselves urgently to the prayer and faithful intercession of the sisters and brethren. Think of us and our intentions with love.

Chr. Fr. and A.M. Denke

Report from the Jonquakamik from the 21st of January till the 31st of May 1806

On the 21st of January, we received a letter from Br. Schnall whereupon Br. Denke immediately went to Fairfield and returned the following day. To our delight, we finally received letters from the commune again. Christiane came here with her daughter and Beata.

24th - In the evening the Friday liturgy was held.

25th - We tapped the first sugar trees. We had nice warm weather. In the evening we had blessed fellowship in Holy Communion whereby Christiane was our companion. On the

26th, the morning meeting dealt with peace of God and in the evening we contemplated today's text. A Chippewa came from down stream with his ill Shawnee wife. She, being ill, had asked her husband to take her to us so that she might be buried here, should she die, having heard the Word of God for her salvation. But she got well quite quickly and with her recovery her longing for her salvation died.

28th and 29th - The visitors went back to Fairfield again. From there on the

30th, two young sisters came to carry Carolina Schnall home again on their back. The ice on the river got so bad that you could not walk across without danger.

February

8th - During this week, we were quite undisturbed and alone. The weather was cold.

10th - Indians from upstream passed by here to pick up corn in Kitegan.

11th - We talked with the Indian who for a long time had had nothing good in mind towards us, but he dared to come here today and we commended Jesus' love for sinners to him. He was quite brokenhearted and attentive and promised to think about it. We heard from Fairfield that (undecipherable) had again made many accusations against us to the assistants. For this reason, an appointment was made with him for tomorrow in writing.

12th - Although it has been snowing incessantly since yesterday and the snow already is deep, Mtschiki arrived here today in the evening. His eyes began to water when the word of reconciliation was brought to him immediately upon his arrival and he was admonished lovingly and earnestly and seriously to surrender himself unconditionally to the Saviour, who suffered so much for him, and to turn from his pagan ways in which he would be lost through his unbelief. It made a noticeable impression on him. In the evening Br. Denke kneeled together with him at the feet of Jesus and commended him to the grace and mercy of God. Actually, he is glad that we are here, but his heart is in conflict. He feels the call for to convert, but the evil still gets the better of him. As a result, he becomes restless and is repeatedly annoyed with us and seeks all sorts of things. As soon as one demonstrates the suffering of Jesus to him from the Word of God, there is a change in him before long, only it never lasts long.

18th - We received a letter and the German watchword book for this year from Nazareth. A thaw has set in now.

20th - The ice broke up here after the almost constant rains of the previous days and nights and, as a result, the water level of the river has risen so fast and high that the ice was loosened without breaking and quite long ice fields floated by. A complete flooding of the bottoms and the low-lying uplands occurred here because the drifting ice had been jammed, especially in the bends downstream. For seven years it should not have been like this.

21st - Chippewas came up from downstream to go to their sugar places. We could paddle in a canoe to our sugar place, vis-a-vis on the other side, up to the hut. In spite of the fact that there are still ice-floes on the river now and then, the Chippewas went upstream in their canoes. As all the bottoms were flooded, they retired in their light canoes to the bottoms where the ice, which now remains in the current of the river, would not hit them and so they crawl along.

22nd - The water has begun to recede so that we were able to tap some of the trees which stood under water. The thermometer is at 56 degrees and the sap flows strong. The assistant brother Jacob arrived from Fairfield.

28th - While at our sugar place, we had a visit, though short but a very friendly one, from the old, ill Kajaki and his wife, who is also ill. We had not seen his wife for a long time because she had been continually ill since the last Indian summer and has only recovered sufficiently enough to slowly drag herself along with the help of two crutches. She had been asking to visit us for a long time and thus today her husband brought her here by canoe. He is also partially lame and ill. We were sorry that it was already late in the day and they hurried home without a long stay. Because the river still stands high and has a strong current, they had snailed along from Kitegan till here and had to hurry to get home yet before nightfall. They hardly took time to have any refreshments. They brought Sr. Denke a present, some of their first sugar.

March

3rd - In the evening we had the blessed fellowship of Holy Communion.

6th - Today, Chippewas who camped near us for a while, withdrew altogether downstream.

9th - We saw many Indians pass by. Some among them took liquor to the upper plantation. Our Chippewas, who want to boil sugar here, also came from Fairfield.

10th - Br. Schnall visited us and on the 11th Br. Denke went with him on business to Fairfield and came back with Jacob on the 12th. Yesterday in the evening, liquor was brought here by the Chippewas and very excessive drinking broke out. This was the first drunken spree which we have experienced here. At the same time, a pagan magic spell was cast over a sick woman and this, I think, was the reason for it. All except for one young female were drunk. She was quite sober and slept with Sr. Denke. The dear Saviour saved Sr. Denke from all harm as she was alone among the drunken heathen. Only she was pestered so much by them that she could not sleep. A good sugar time has set in now with mild and clear weather.

25th - On the feast of all choirs, we quietly meditated on the text.

26th - Deep snow fell which the hunters used for hunting. Some from upstream came here during the last few days and brought us fresh meat for which we thank our Heavenly Father as we have already had to sell all our corned pork to hungry Chippewas who begged and implored us and accepted no refusal until we had given away, so to speak, the last bite. The Indians are especially covetous of pork and give away everything for it. Some Indians who previously did not often visit us but just passed by, now get a special pleasure out of providing us with fresh meat. They

are good hunters but do not live in our vicinity and must carry the meat on their back for six to eight miles. If they bring meat - which is always a voluntary gift - they use the expression: I feed you with meat, you take and eat. The Indians camping in our vicinity (they are (undecipherable)'s friends) are very unlucky in hunting and often have nothing to eat, very seldom meat. But every night they carry out their wizardry for a good hunt with drums and bawling. They grew only a little corn and therefore hunger. They must buy all their corn in Fairfield. They have tapped sugar trees not far from us and want to boil sugar there. The man who last winter threatened to chase us away, or at least the spokesman of the group is there too but does not let himself be seen. Now he has taken, besides a Chippewa wife, Anna Justina as a second wife, the Delaware who had been sent away from Fairfield. In doing so he has made himself hated among the friends of his Chippewa wife causing a split to arise in this horde or bunch, therefore his plan to drive us away has been shattered. By the way, there are unfortunately unusual bouts of excessive drinking here on the river. At both of the towns, upstream and downstream, (nearby which they are camping at their sugar places) there are regular drinking bouts. The Indians go almost continuously to the Thames and St. Clair to fetch five to six gallon brandy kegs. Such as these also pass by us but we still have been, thanks to God, spared from such heavy drinking bouts here except for the one already mentioned. We hear constantly, however, that the Indians both upstream and downstream, are all drunk. It has never been so bad since we have been here and the saddest thing is that their ears are closed to the Word of God. During this time, the grace and love of God has still been commended to several Indians whenever a suitable opportunity was found. This happens, we have noticed, when the Indians have no other plan except to pay us a visit, then they are also attentive. Otherwise, when they are about to go on a trip, hunting, or to a feast, dance or heavy drinking, and drop in just passing by, they are always in as great hurry, their mind is filled with other things and so you get nowhere sometimes and it seems like everything just bounces off.

30th - On Palm Sunday we read the text of the day which we continued every day of the Passion Week and we had a blessed feast for our poor hearts meditating about the last words and the bitter suffering and dying of our Lord and Saviour.

April

On the 3rd, Maundy Thursday, we held the meal of the Lord in the evening.

4th - Good Friday. The great event for mankind of that remarkable day, we could make known only to a young Indian whom we saw today.

6th - On Easter we are all by ourselves. We prayed the Easter liturgy and read the Scripture. As the night frosts are now beginning to be negligible, we decided to gradually boil the sugar. In this year the weather was in general as desired for it and it yielded amply.

8th - During these days the Indians from upstream went all down together. They were very hungry and want to live on fish in Pagetschiwonunk on the St. Clair. They have finished making sugar. But they all went by without stopping because they were hurrying to Kitegan where an extensive drinking party was to be held, therefore they did not let themselves be seen. (Now follows the description and narrative of the friendly visit from an old, intelligent Tawa or

Ottaway chief from Chenail Ecarte, named Onagan. This account has already been sent to Bethlehem.)

12th - Petrus and Justine came from Fairfield and were willing to stay here so that Br. Denke could go on business to Fairfield. He came back with Adam the following day. The Chippewas in our vicinity are all gone already so that till the end of the month we have set eyes on only a few passers-by to whom the Word of God has been praised. Among them was only one who listened willingly. One of them who heard it reluctantly was Siskiboa who last winter threatened to drive us away. It is the first time that he came into our house since then. Meanwhile, he still offered Br. Denke his hand when leaving and seems to be happy, put all the blame on other Indians and was please to hear we still like him and serve him gladly with the Word of God so that he could still save his poor soul. Only a few days later one heard that he, upon returning to Kitegan, threatened us anew and said: Now he had driven away the teacher and he would kill his livestock and give it to the Indians to eat because he had heard bad words there again. However, he added, I am afraid! For several years the joyful tidings of salvation through Christ has been again and again praised to this poor slave of Satan and carried, so to speak, after him, but until now it has had no affect on him and he is hostile to us. He is a very skilled and experienced sorcerer! On the

25th, Jacob came here as also on the 26th Adam with as horse, whereupon we went to Fairfield. Sr. Denke rode. Then Br. Denke baptized the little daughter of Sr. and Br. Schnall on the

27th in Fairfield, whereupon on the

28th he went home with Martha. Sr. Denke stayed in Fairfield for a few days to nurse Sr. Schnall. Br. Jacob was keeping house in our absence.

May

On the 2nd, Sr. Denke, accompanied by Anton, arrived here again on horseback. On the

3rd the ill, old Kajaki visited us with his wife and daughter. He lamented that he had been very ill and now was better but still not healthy. He had to lie down soon. They came by canoe. The reason for his visit was to inquire if it was true what two Indians had said, that we were withdrawing and Sr. and Br. Denke daily pick up some of our belongings. It was found that these are false reports because these Indians were never here but had invented them. He gave us good words, asked us to play deaf and not listen to the lies of the Indians who are just now cheating themselves in general far more than he ever saw. He ensured us that he is pleased with our presence, promised also in future to take better care of us and to protect us against malicious Indians so far as it is possible for him. He and his wife listened more attentively to the Word of God this time than ever before. He also made no objections as was usual with him and promised to think about it and to visit us more often now. After they had taken some refreshments, they went home in high spirits. On the

4th in the afternoon, his son came with the news that in the morning he had suddenly died, presumably of a violent haemorrhage. The blood should have flowed out his nose like a brook.

He incurred his death presumably through all his boozing and by the sacrificial dances held lately in his town of Kitegan. His death hurt us very much because we could now gather the best hope on his behalf. However, it was a consolation to us that, on the last day of his life, he had heard the simple story, that the Lord of Heaven and Earth died on the cross for the salvation of all human souls. Bad remarks and threats have again been uttered against us at the mentioned sacrificial dance. But Kajaki, who told us, said that we should surely not take it seriously. Today we also thought of the dear Sisters' choir of the commune.

5th - Now we are busy with planting which we finished during the following week.

15th - On Ascension Day we read the story and silently contemplated on it. On the 16th, to our delight, we received a letter from the commune.

17th - Br. Denke went to Fairfield to a conference on account of a letter sent to him by the Indian agent, Captain McKee. Sr. Lucia, who came from Fairfield, stayed with Sr. Denke.

18th - Towards evening, he came back again having had a cheerful visit. No Chippewas are just now in our vicinity. The weather is very dry so that the plants can hardly sprout and grow. At the same time we have a constant strong wind. Near the Scotch settlers in Beldown¹⁴ at Chenail Ecarte, a young Chippewa committed a shameful deed and so Lord Selkirk's agent, the proprietor of that settlement, demanded the delinquent which had already been attempted by the Indian agent, Captain McKee, but the Indians refuse to give him up. So a big council will be held again in Beldown for this purpose and Br. Denke has been asked to appear in person which he most politely declined because his position would not permit it. The agent, Mr. McDonald, thought that Br. Denke could maybe contribute something to the extradition of the delinquent. In the case that Br. Denke would refuse to because of his position, Captain McKee still wished that he would confer with Mr. McDonald about it, especially as it seems to him that he has influence on the mission station on the Jonquakamik. Because of their refusal to deliver the perpetrator into the hands of justice for proper punishment, the government might not be favourably inclined to permitting any Indian settlements near white settlers, ours neither. Mr. McDonald could advise us concerning this. But the distance between us and Beldown is approximately 30 to 40 miles by water and there is no trail. It is by no means nearby even if it were only 20 to 30 miles. Herein also, by selecting this location, how wisely we have been guided by the Saviour, to look for a place above and not below Kitegan, otherwise we would be near the Scotch settlers now. Mr. McDonald brought the above mentioned letter to Fairfield himself, said that he occasioned it, attested also to Br. Schnall that he was our true friend, a patron and promoter of the mission, and wished therefore that he could now make acquaintance with Br. Denke in person, as we with him. He was on his way to York¹⁵ where his family is staying. As to his position, he is, besides the agent of Lord Selkirk, a sheriff for the Home district and speaker of the House of Assembly for this province. He also offered Br. Schnall his services in a polite way if we should choose to accept them. Finally on the

23rd, Atschiwa, a Chippewa who plants in Kitegan, visited us and brought us fish. He listened attentively to the evangelical instruction and said he is glad that we are living here. Fish are in abundance here and because the river has clear water and is low, they can very easily be speared and shot. A few days ago some men came from Fairfield who brought us flour and within an

hour speared more than 20 large fish with wooden sticks. In the evening Joseph and Lisette came to keep house for us and on the

24th we left here on foot so early that we still arrived before the morning meeting in Fairfield. Because of the oppressive heat and the vermin, you have to leave at daybreak. Sr. Denke is now able to do the way in three hours on foot without considerable fatigue. It is quite dry at present. In the evening we went to Holy Communion with the Fairfield commune and then on the 25th we celebrated Pentecost there. Since some of our friends from the settlement wanted to consult Br. Denke about their own affairs, appointments were made there for the 26th and so we went home only on the

27th after quite a cheerful and encouraging visit there. Meanwhile Chippewas have arrived here who today moved on. Through carelessness, presumably, they set fire to the brush and we had unspeakable difficulty keeping it away from us and were still putting it out during the night. In the evening Mtschiki arrived here with some of his friends who the following morning went to Fairfield. The older sister of Mtschiki, the so called "Bit-Off-Nose", who had almost always camped by us here or at Fairfield, and quite recently boiled sugar, went from here to Chenail Ecarte to eat fish and wanted to come again to plant. She should have died there. She had listened a great deal and often to the Word of God, but despised it and we have reason to believe that she was a stumbling block to others, her children as well as good friends.

28th - Three Chippewas from Kitegan paid us a friendly visit here. Among them was our hunter, Atschiwa, who brought fresh deer meat which was very welcome to us. Chief Nabbawe, the son-in-law of Onagan was also there who attested today for the first time that he, although he had heard the Indian's idle gossip about us, nevertheless is glad that we are here and never would he order us to leave. His father, whom he had murdered, was the old Kitschi maqua (Big Bear) who is the founder of the town of Kitegan and the oldest Indian resident here on the river for whom Big Bear creek is named. Also Nabbawe or Kitschi makongs (the Great Lesser Bear) told us a great deal and various things. He stays most of the time with Onagan, was exceedingly well disposed toward us and friendly. It has rained almost nothing for nine weeks.

Herewith we close our diary for this time and commend ourselves to the prayers and memory of the sisters and brothers.

Denkes

End Notes

- ¹ Throughout this diary, the use of the abbreviations "Sr. and "Br." refer to the words "Sister" and Brother.
- ² Jonquakamik refers to the Sydenham River.
- ³ Captain McKee refers to Thomas McKee, Indian Agent for the Western District, and son of Alexander McKee, who was so influential in Native-British relations in the Western District during the 1780's and 1790's. McKee was approached by Denke and Schnall in

late June of that year and asked to do something about the increasing harassment that Denke felt he and his wife were being subjected to by some of the local Ojibwa at their mission site on the Sydenham River. McKee responded by writing the following letter, which was read to the assembled Ojibwa at the meeting referred to by Denke:

Text of letter taken from Moravian records (Box 164, Folder 12, Item 4), excerpted from a letter by Denke to his superior in Bethlehem:

To the Chippeways on the River Jonquakamik

Children,

As the Reverend Fr. Denkey has obtained the permission of the King's Representative in this country, to establish himself, on any convenient spot on your river, for purposes which, no doubt, he has long 'ere this time made known, and at the same time convinced you, solely for your own good, as well in this, and the world to come.

And it being also my duty, to give you such advice as to promote your interests; I have now to recommend you all, in the most earnest manner, to listen with attention to such lessons and admonitions as your Reverend Benefactor may think proper to administer to you.

I have also to entreat you, my children, on no account to molest his domestic animals, which he has now, or may hereafter have, for the support of himself and family, nor any part of his crops. On the contrary, it ought by rights, be your duties to protect them.

As your conduct towards your missionary will, in a great degree, regulate the manner in which I am to extend His Majesty's bounty of clothing, provisions, arms & ammunition, I sincerely wish, what I have said, as above, will have some impression on your minds, and that you will take it into serious consideration.

Hoping the master of life will take you under his protection and your prosperity in future by affording you and them every happiness and comfort, I am - My Children your

29 June 1805

*affectionate father
Thomas McKee*

⁴ Kitegan is one of the Ojibwa "towns" located along the Sydenham River, downstream some 4 miles from the place where the Denkes' established their mission site. Kitegan appears to have been a warm weather occupation, used more sporadically during the remainder of the year, and was a place where Ojibwa planted corn on adjacent river flats (see Figure 1, page 6 in the 90-5 KEWA for an approximate location of Kitegan).

⁵ Pettquoting is a former Moravian mission site in northern Ohio which was abandoned in 1790 due to continued rumours of pending war between the Americans and the Ohio Native nations. After a lengthy journey, with stops along the Detroit River, the Moravian community ultimately settled at Fairfield on the Thames River in May of 1792. Pettquoting was re-established by the end of the 18th century, and became an important Moravian mission site in the early 19th century.

⁶ This refers to the Mouth of the Miami River, in northwest Ohio. Some of the Ottawa who settled on Walpole Island during the 1790's were likely refugees from this region.

- 7 This refers to Fort Malden, a British Military post located on the Detroit River in present day Amherstburg.
- 8 The Harsen family lived on Harsen's Island, one of the islands on the American side of the border which makes up the Walpole Island delta at the north end of Lake St. Clair. The Harsen's helped Denke during his brief mission established there in 1801.
- 9 Nangi was an Ojibwa chief, reportedly living across from Harsen's Island on the Michigan side of the St. Clair River, near present day Algonac. Nangi originally gave Denke permission to establish his mission on Harsen's Island.
- 10 The "Giving of Gifts" refers to the distribution of supplies and materials by the British Indian Department to Native allies, an event first established during the mid 18th century as a means of maintaining alliances with Native groups. Goods distributed included utilitarian items such as cloth, muskets, flints and shots, fish hooks and lines, axes, barrelled pork and flour; as well as more ornamental goods such as trade beads, silver brooches, combs, etc. By this point in history distributions had been reduced to once a year. Eventually, these distributions would change from being political gifts of allegiance to a means of paying for the land surrendered by Native communities made in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.
- 11 Mr Dolson established the first mill on the Thames River, located on the south side of the Thames just east of present day Kent Bridge.
- 12 Onagan (or Big Bowls) was an Ottawa who married into an Ojibwa family, and lived in the Ottawa village established at the northern end of St. Anne's Island, one of the St. Clair delta islands.
- 13 This refers to the 1796 land surrender conducted by Alexander McKee. Part of the surrender included a large parcel of land immediately north of Walpole Island, comprising most of present day Sombra Township. This land was for refugee Ottawa and other Native groups who were displaced as a result of the Indian-American wars of the early 1790's in Ohio. Wabisfitschangispigabawit may refer to St. Anne's island.
- 14 Beldown refers to the Baldoon Settlement, Lord Selkirk's 1804 plan to settle Scottish immigrants to the south and west of present day Wallaceburg, and immediately across from St. Anne's Island. This settlement was a disaster, with many settlers dying from disease and hunger, and was abandoned only a few years after being established.
- 15 Present day Toronto.